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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Universalism—A Religion with a Message - - - - - - - *David H. Cole*

South Africa—Land of Gold and Discord - - - - - - *John Nevin Sayre*

Are We Losing Our Morals? - - *Max D. Gaebler*

A New Liberalism? - - - - - - - - *J. Ray Shute*

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THE FIELD

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion"

Eisenhower Urged to Reaffirm Bill of Rights

The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* in an editorial pegged to Bill of Rights Day called on President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower to head off what it sees as the "abandonment of the Bill of Rights as a living, meaningful document."

The newspaper urged Eisenhower to make a forthright statement that under his administration "no man will be persecuted because he thinks unpopular thoughts; that the right of the scholar to report the results of his studies, rather than what he thinks the public wants to hear, shall not be questioned; that the watchfulness of the FBI, under its able director, J. Edgar Hoover, against overt acts of subversion will be redoubled."

Such a statement, the paper said, "would clear away the fog of fear and uncertainty and confusion created by political opportunists in both major parties in the last few years."

The editorial, which took the better part of two full columns of text, leveled its heaviest attack at congressional investigations that aim to "confuse and divide the American people." And it saw no indication that those "who make a practice of confusion will give it up voluntarily just because a Republican administration is coming into power."

The paper pointed out that the Bill of Rights attaches no qualifications to its guaranties—that it applies to everyone, no matter how unpopular his ideas. And it gives no right to "self-appointed vigilantes . . . to harry and assault those who gather to espouse unpopular causes."

To assure the Bill of Rights the only atmosphere in which it can live and breathe, the editorial said, the President-elect must make a positive statement that his administration "will do everything in its power to destroy the influence of . . . . political opportunists—be they Republicans or Democrats."

—*ACLU Bulletin.*

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EDITORIAL

All good Americans will give the new administration ample time to resolve its inner conflicts and not prejudge the outcome. Once the result is known, good Americans will form their opinions on the basis of the facts. The struggle for power within the administration will be a hard-fought battle. The cards are somewhat stacked against the liberal Republican forces that secured Mr. Eisenhower's nomination, but Mr. Eisenhower's tremendous personal popularity may enable him to secure the enactment of liberal legislation. The President is on record as favoring fair employment practices and maintaining social security, as supporting the UN and backing NATO. His position on tidelands is not encouraging to those who favor conserving the public domain for the good of the general public. And his position on many domestic issues is far from clear. But as compared with the right wing of his party, he is a flaming liberal. There will be no revolutionary social advances made by the new administration, but there will be no reversion to pre-New Deal conditions. As a man of world-wide outlook and world-wide experience, President Eisenhower could not possibly be taken in by the isolationists, nor by the ravings of the McCarthys. While the administration is topheavy with big businessmen, we can look with a measure of assurance for a fairly liberal administration. Many big businessmen are more liberal than small-minded politicians. The new President has no easy task. He should be given the benefit of the doubt and encouraged by liberals. Should he become a prisoner of the right wing Northern Republicans and the equally conservative Southern Democrats, then a new alignment of liberal forces will be in order. But first let us give Mr. Eisenhower a chance to prove his liberality and his powers of leadership.

Curtis W. Reese.

Universalism—A Religion with a Message

DAVID H. COLE

There is a statement bandied around once in a while to the effect that the Universalist Church is no longer needed. There seem to be two separate thoughts motivating such a statement. One is that other churches are now liberal and Universalism as a distinctive message no longer has a mission; and, second, that liberalism has failed and a new orthodoxy must take its place.

In the first instance it appears that people have confused modernism which now exists in the great bulk of Christian churches with liberalism. Modernism is not liberalism. Modernism is a fence-straddling theology of orthodoxy dressed up with sugar coating made to sound liberal. It is a perversion of Christianity which is trying to sell an ancient religion through compromise with modern knowledge, and actually is neither fish nor fowl. In the second case it is true that some people have lost faith in liberalism; indeed, some elements in our society are even hostile to liberalism in religion or anywhere else. We need not hide ourselves from this growing lack of faith. Many who were once outspoken liberals—novelists, statesmen, professors—have now left the fold and speak in sneering terms of the faith they once held dear.

T. S. Eliot has written a most provocative disparagement of liberalism in a book published in 1939 entitled, *The Idea of a Christian Society*. In the book he says that liberalism is a negative condition of society, a falling away from positive conditions through freeing oneself from them and ending up in nothingness. This disordered, pointless society is undesirable and must disappear, he says, for it can only end in a secular authority. In its stead he proposes a Christian authoritarianism. He goes on to say that in religion liberalism may be characterized as a progressive discarding of elements in historical Christianity which appear superfluous, and with nothing left to destroy is left with nothing to uphold and with nowhere to go.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Eliot was reared in an American family in the midstream of the liberal movement. His family were Unitarians, and he is the grandson of the Unitarian minister who founded the Unitarian Church in St. Louis and was a tower of strength for the liberal religious movement in the Midwest over a long period of years.

Out of this background Mr. Eliot says he finds nothing in liberalism except negation. However, he does make one reservation. He says that this condition is congenial to creativity as it brings a liberation of individual energies inducive to the creative artist. It is good that he does recognize his debt to the liberal society which produced him.

It is astonishing to me that Mr. Eliot does not perceive the positive core of Liberal Religion as expressed in the Universalist Church and the Unitarian movement. We all owe a tremendous debt to liberalism for the great progressive and constructive movements of our century; yet if a lack of faith and understanding persist, we stand in danger of losing the freedom out of which come the evolving characteristics of a better society and a better world. There are too many people like Mr. Eliot standing still on every step of evolution and looking scornfully on the process which brought them to the point where they are and could take them up a few more steps.

Now it is true, of course, that there has been much in liberalism that has been negative. There is much that has been superficial, especially in the last century. We have always won adherents by what we were against. But negativism has never been the sum total of Universalism. If one finds no more than a negative casting away of the superfluous, it is one's own blindness that hides the real and deep sources of Universalist strength and power. Universalism has a positive faith in the Universe, man, reason, scientific disciplines, the purpose and mission of mankind on earth, along with a well-grounded faith that the mission can be accomplished. We must make a distinction between negativistic nothingness and the positive faith which makes us a vital movement.

The message of Universalism must of necessity differ from that of historical Christianity or from the medieval flowers attached to it. The kind of unsatisfactory world we now live in is too largely a product of outdated religion. Adequate in another age, it is as out of place in this age as the horse and buggy. The message of Universalism must be spoken in the context of this age; it must speak to our problems, find solutions to our frustrations, and make use of the advanced disciplines of this age.

It is indeed a frustrating age in which to live. There is a sense of impending disaster growing out of a science that has run away from its usefulness to humanity with its destructive devices and linked with a humanity that cannot seem to control the use of its own inventions. A devastating description of our culture has recently been written by Rev. Bernard Iddings Bell, a canon of the Episcopal Church, in his book, *Crowd Culture*. Canon Bell diagnoses the problem with caustic insight, although he fails to see that his solution is also part of the problem. He points out that the chief threat to America comes from within. We are accumulating wealth and letting man decay; there is an absence of conviction of what the good life is and how it can be obtained. The zest has been taken out of living, he continues, and there is created a general boredom. Our gaiety is not spontaneous, and the boredom results in a reluctant morality. Consequently, he points out, our culture shoots wide of the mark in its estimate of human values. It imagines that happiness is bought, that comfort is indispensable, that conformity is the best policy. We are a nation of new-rich people, well-washed, all dressed up and unsure of what we are washed and dressed for. His analysis of the church as a contributing factor in the situation is particularly penetrating. He says that today Americans have come to regard the church as the "promoter of respectable minor art, charming if it happens to appeal to you, its only moral function to bless whatever the multitude at the moment regards as the American way of life. . . . Nevertheless," says Dr. Bell, "our culture can be humanized and human dignity restored; the church can become once more truth centered. . . . All this can happen—but only if we raise up rebels [against] . . . the blather of the crowd. Against the latter we must be rebels, not because we hate the Common Man, but because we love him deeply. This is our reasonable service, our religious dignity." It is true that the church can lead in the constructive changes needed in

our culture, but it will take a new and dynamic religion,—one satisfying to the whole man, and unifying and directing his energies in worthwhile and ennobling human pursuits.

This will require a major departure from the religion that has dominated Western culture. Our religion has been dominated by a concept that Plato developed when he sought a foundation for morality. Finding the traditional basis for morality inadequate and disagreeing with the Sophist concept, Plato advanced the breathtaking theory that man lives in two worlds. One world was the everyday world of experience, daily concerns, space and time. The other world was a supersensuous world, an eternal world that lies beyond space and time. This was his ideal world, which man could see as he squinted out of the dark cave of the natural world. Morality was imposed on man from this outside world.

Plato's unique plan was adopted and adapted by early Christianity and perfected by Thomas Aquinas, who posed the natural world and the supernatural world. Naturally, truth, immortality, and morals were native only to the supernatural world, and it was man's responsibility to reach up to it as best he could to gain anything worth having. Man, in a sense, needed two eyes, one looking up at the supernatural world, and one looking down at his natural habitat. As a result, man has been somewhat cross-eyed ever since.

In government this theory has led to such a distrust of the common man, that only an authoritarian power could keep him in line. As a result pioneers for liberty and democracy have always had to be the heretics.

While this schizophrenic system has been surrendered in part, basically the two-world philosophy keeps hanging on. Today we have developed new "eternal truths" and the cliches are "free enterprise" and the "American way of life." Some of the new "eternal truths" Universalists agree with wholeheartedly: freedom of conscience, free speech, inalienable rights of man. I am not quarreling with the current watchwords of freedom and democracy. I do say it is wrong to assume that because our forefathers incorporated such items in their documents originating this country, *per se* they are truth for all time. The "American way of life" can be used as an absolute to protect the worst kind of abuse. Our way of life, our economic system, our civil rights are good not because they are 200 years old, but only because they stand the test of constant examination and experience. We should not get ourselves in a position where we will deny that there might be a better way and a better system, or that the present concepts and system cannot be improved.

Plato did the best he could. He needed an adequate basis for moral values. Today we have a vast fund of material that was not available to Plato, and it makes Plato's two worlds inadequate for our time. Through the disciplines of anthropology, psychology, and sociology, we know more about how moral values came into being and what are useful moral values than Plato ever dreamed. It is clear that moral values have changed since Plato's time, and mankind has developed the power to organize itself and adapt itself in its own best way despite the attempt to maintain external controls.

Morality and values have their origin not from the other world, but from social relations among men. Society itself provides the empirical tests of right and wrong and can do so adequately without recourse to absolute truths.

Democracy is not only a good political system, but it is a way of life that can generate its own standards and ideals, and maintain a changing and increasingly better system of ethics. The standards it develops do not need to be fitted into a metaphysical framework to preserve them or scare mortals into observing them. Mankind can rather easily discover what values promote his own happiness and adhere to them without threat of punishment.

Any religion which is to capture the imagination and enthusiasm of intelligent people today must rely on the disciplines of the social and cultural sciences for its knowledge rather than on a supernatural framework. A religion for this age must not try to impose values, ethics, and morals from a past age, but rather it must constantly reevaluate the old and develop confidence in human beings and in their ability to create social relationships that promote harmony and unity without an absolute imposed upon them.

The message of Universalism, then, for this age is that of humanizing religion. The message is one that takes religion out of heaven and puts it on earth where it will do some good.

The basic tenets of this religion are threefold:

1. Its message is the basic worth and goodness of people, or as we have formally adopted it: "The supreme worth of the human personality." This is diametrically opposed to the Christian doctrine of the sinfulness of man. Man as a sinner needed an absolute to keep him in line. He needed his discipline imposed from outside with threats of punishment if he deviated. Modern faith on the other hand trusts people. We do not set this tenet up as a blind theological statement but rather we pose this faith as the result of investigation. Ashley Montigue, in his recent book, *On Being Human,* summarizes recent investigations in the nature of man and shows that man's basic nature is composed of good impulses which if developed naturally would lead him to be a cooperative person. It points out that aggressiveness is learned, and the so-called instincts that lead to war, hate, and greed are cultural rather than part of our basic nature. He shows that studies reveal that mankind's evolution is not the result of the survival of the fittest, but rather through the development of cooperative techniques. Such studies indicate that we can have unlimited faith in mankind, in the goodness of each individual, faith that we can overcome those divisive elements in our society that warp man's nature and can eventually create a cooperative society that will more nearly suit our personalities.

2. The second tenet in our message is concerned with change. Too long religion has tried to maintain the *status quo,* no matter how bad it is. Universalism is a message of purposeful growth. Evolution is part of the nature of the Universe. Evolution and change mark the rise of civilizations. Change and growth are the potentiality of every society and every individual. As a society and as individuals we can grow from inadequate, disjointed entities toward maturity and wholeness. Growth toward wholeness is central in our message.

3. Last, our message is concerned with the direction of the change that marks all things. It is here that Universalism speaks of non-material goals. Jesus had great insight when he said: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God." Universalism seeks to make real the universal values which will best promote the maturity, the wholeness, and the welfare of individuals and

society. Values of love, justice, kindness, understanding, concern, must be our primary aims in life. One of the distortions of our present culture is that we have placed first the accumulation of things and goods. Our values have been misplaced. Seek ye first the things of the spirit—seek ye first to love, to have strong loving relationships, and other things will take their proper place in life. Reality is basically spiritual. So-called spiritual or religious values are of primary importance in bringing maturity and wholeness and unity to our culture. When families, and communities are organized with these values foremost, we will have the key to most of the frustrations that now beset us.

Our mission grows out of our message. The mission must be concerned with making the message real. First, this means we must instill confidence in people amid the frustration and despair of the times. Confidence in the human venture, confidence that life is worthwhile, and that we can progress toward our goals. To do this it is necessary to link individuals conscientiously with a larger enterprise. We must give people the feeling that we are part of a universal process, but that the Universe is unable to fulfill its evolution in mankind without the intelligence and cooperation of mankind. We are a part of that process, but the process depends on us. Such a conscience-linking, coming as a worship experience through devotions, meditations, public worship, can give courage, power, and a sense of self-mastery.

The second phase of the mission of the modern church is to give each individual a personal sense of purpose. Life without purpose is barren. The destiny of mankind is something that mankind determines out of his conscious meditation, but the fulfilling of the destiny requires an emotional involvement of each individual. To achieve this emotional impact it is necessary for the church to seek commitment. The great weakness of the liberal intellectual today is his lack of commitment. Too often he prefers to stand off to one side, analyzing every aspect of truth, and with a critical and cynical attitude sneering at human effort.

I do not see the church itself as a social action agency. Instead it is more vital for the church to present the vision and then inspire the intellectual and emotional commitment of its people to the cause. Only when people are committed to the wedding vows can the marriage be a success, only when a society is composed of individuals committed to the highest kind of relationships and causes can that society be a vital and progressive society. The church must fill men and women with a devotion to something larger than themselves, and thus the church will serve as the instrument to give confidence and sense of purpose to individual lives.

A vital religion for today, then, must be the unifying, synthesizing, direction-giving force in the total culture. None of the traditional churches are adequate for the task. The two-world concept, so far out of place in our age, is impotent before our problems. The new religion cannot be apart from life. It must be a way of living and thinking. It must provide the social conditioning to bring into flower all the potentialities of every individual. A living, creative religion is needed that will inspire poets, artists, and writers to new heights of creative genius and inspire all human beings to new heights of noble service. There is still no guaranty of success in the human quest. Little men are today toying with great destructive powers. There is a chance, however, that we can have a better future. Universalism challenges the devotion of men of science, men of action, men of affairs, men of vision and concern. It challenges them to put the concerns of religion first, to put humanity's cause uppermost, to translate into actuality the religious vision of the good life and the world made good.

South Africa—Land of Gold and Discord

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

Discord was not lacking in South Africa before the finding of gold and diamonds there, but the discovery of such riches has multiplied the friction and vastly complicated the country's problems. Had the new wealth been controlled and exploited for the improvement of living standards, education, and the betterment of all sections of the people, it might have lessened the discord. If also there could have been a spiritual perception of basic human justice, and a full use of love and human understanding, South Africa might today be leading the world in the glory of a multiracial Christian society.

Today, South Africans are keenly aware of the crisis through which their nation is going. Although they tend to resent outside criticism and the myth that only one race can be to blame for the sorry state of race relations, they are not complacent. Indeed, fear of trouble that may come upon the country pervades all groups. Most of those we interviewed declared that conditions were getting worse, and some of them felt that they were at a desperate stage. As one man said: "We are living on two volcanoes, either one of which could soon explode." One was the growing tension between whites and non-whites; the other was the danger of civil war between the two principal white groups.

It was surprising to find that on the psychological and propaganda front the old war between the Boers and the British is still going on and being fanned to fresh intensity, especially by the Malan government. One would have thought that the divisions caused by that war had long ago been healed by generous acts of Britain's Campbell-Bannerman government, the setting up of the Federal Union of South Africa, and the long years of service to the Union by General Jan Smuts. But this is not the case. There was a section of the Boers who in their hearts never accepted defeat, who regarded Smuts as a "Quisling," who bided their time but were busy nourishing Boer aspirations. It is they who have taken the lead in *apartheid,* who cling to the *Afrikaans* language, and who got control of the government in 1948 after Smuts' death. This has created a split not only between British and Dutch South Africans, but inside the *Afrikaner* group itself.

Dr. Malan and the Nationalist Party propose to create an *Afrikaner* country and possibly an independent state separate from the British Commonwealth.

They do not trust the British, are hostile to the United Nations, and fear the Communists whose South African Party they have outlawed. They have practically annexed South West Africa and seem to want still more territory. They mean to build up a master race and a master language, and keep non-white inhabitants "in their place." They are tightening up the old controls of segregation and promulgating new ones. They do not intend that members of dark-skinned races and nations shall ever be admitted to full privileges of citizenship.

The natives are to have a homeland in separate territories, somewhat like American Indian reservations, where they are to live under tribal discipline, which, however, is finally subject to white control. Some of them will work the farms of white South Africans. Others who labor in the mines and the big cities are to be housed in adjacent segregated "locations."

The Malan government appears quite willing to subvert the decisions of the country's judges and the South African constitution if these stand in the way. Although the present government was not voted into office by a majority of the nation's white electorate, it hopes to win a majority at the next election. The Nationalists know what they want, believe that they are religiously and patriotically right, do not care for civil liberties, and are ruling by dictatorial methods.

The United Party was the party of General Smuts. It is opposed to a number, but not all, of the above measures. About 70 per cent of its members are white *Arikaners* (not Africans) and the rest are white South Africans largely of British extraction. It wishes to uphold the courts and constitution, and demands an immediate general election. It wants to stay within the Commonwealth. It is willing to have South Africa a bilingual country, but fears that English may be crowded out of the schools, universities, and government by the *Afrikaans* language, pushed by *Afrikaner* Nationalism.

This party opposes the abrogation of civil liberties and the withdrawal of the limited franchise rights for the "colored" people which have been in existence for a number of years in the Cape of Good Hope Colony. It fears the encroachment of Nationalist dictatorship, and in the present crisis has been building up a group known as the "Torch Commandos," headed by "Sailor" Malan, a cousin of the Prime Minister. The government charges this group with being "subversive," and there are ominous clashes between it and the police which are played up in the papers almost daily.

But the United Party would be split wide open if the issue of assimilation between races and the extension of votes to all racial groups—whether outright or by a gradual method—should be pressed upon it. Consequently, on this question it is in a weak position as compared to the Nationalists' firm policy of segregation.

Those who are familiar with race questions in the southern United States should realize that South Africa's race problem is far more acute. The estimated total population of South Africa is 12,000,000, and there are only 2,500,000 whites. Granted that the 9,500,000 non-whites are not united, that they are without arms and unorganized, and for the most part amazingly patient, the whites know what a disaster it would be if these millions were to withdraw their labor. Such a fear, played upon by frequent news stories of crimes against whites, makes the white groups jittery. It intensifies the bitterness when the whites oppose each other.

If now the white parties should fly at each others' throats in exasperation, it would be madness. But when emotions get to the boiling point, madness can happen. It hardly looks as if such an extremity will be reached. If, however, the United Party were to be victorious in the next election, it would constitute an important gain. Its belief in law and constitutional procedure would leave the way open for peaceful methods of change.

The campaign of civil disobedience, along the lines of the crusades led formerly by Mahatma Gandhi in India and South Africa, has been dramatic and thus far singularly unaccompanied by outbreaks of violence against the white regime. Upwards of 5,000 demonstrators, native Africans and resident East Indians, have violated segregation laws in a spirit of non-violence, and have suffered arrest. The campaign is led both by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. For once the non-whites have come together in strong, challenging action to show their unwillingness to accept a second-class citizenship. The movement has been a great welling up of protest, and in the main non-violent, though there have been violent outbreaks between whites and native Africans, as at Port Elizabeth in October. These exceptions do not necessarily indicate a breakdown in the non-violent campaign, for they have happened before, and are not as a rule connected with the present non-violent demonstrations. It is too early, however, for final judgments on the campaign's ultimate value. Yet when Mohandas Gandhi began in South Africa, on his campaign a third of a century ago, it looked like a forlorn hope. God has often used the weak of this world to confound the strong.

There are white minority groups and individuals who are trying to build a multi-racial society that will move in the direction of gradual extension of democracy and civil rights for all. These are the leaven. They are few, they are separated from each other by vast distances, and they contend against terrific odds. But they are valiant for truth. These groups have nurtured such persons as Alan Paton, Michael Scott, Senator E. H. Brooks, Hon. Margaret Ballinger, Mrs. A. W. Hoernle, Rev. A. W. Blaxall, Rev. H. P. Junod, Rev. Ray E. Phillips, Dr. W. J. G. Mears, Dr. Ellen Hellman, Principal R. H. W. Shepherd, Dr. J. Muir Grieve, Dr. F. W. Fox, Maurice Webb, Dr. Alan Taylor, Bishop Wilfred Parker, Manilal Gandhi, and Principal Mtimkulu. There are various others scattered about the country whom it was not possible to meet, and those who are named represent just a sample of nationally-known South Africans who are conspicuous for their service to a multi-racial state. There is a still wider circle whose names are written in heaven.

In the forefront of the voluntary organizations that have turned the light on race relations and striven for their betterment, is the South African Institute of Race Relations, now in its twenty-third year. In a recent statement to the government, it expressed its basic position, and set a standard for future work and hope. Said the Institute, the true basis for a settlement of the race question is wrapped up in these principles:

1. Belief in the value of the individual human being and his right, by virtue of his being, to the fullest expression and development compatible with similar rights of other individuals within the pattern of a democratic state.

2. Belief in the values of democratic society with its accepted freedoms, rights and duties.

3. Acceptance of the brotherhood of man in its Christian interpretation.

Are We Losing Our Morals?

MAX D. GAEBLER

A communist propagandist whose chief object was to discredit the United States, to make us appear in as bad a light as possible, would find his task an easy one these days. His only difficulty, indeed, would be not the discovery of material to use against us, but that of selection from among the mass of evidence supplied him ready-made in our own account of ourselves. For never have our newspapers and magazines, our sermons and commentaries been more filled with angry and sorrowful words over the plight of our country. Never, if one is to believe the written and spoken word, has our public and private conduct given more evidence of moral decay and corruption.

The stories of men who barter political influence for material advantage have so multiplied that we are almost numb to their devastating and sickening effect. It has become commonplace, or so it would seem, for men in positions of responsibility in government and business to betray their trust and place their own immediate gain ahead of their moral obligations. Outright graft, the perpetration of fraud and theft, has become almost an everyday occurrence.

On another front the evidence mounts of the corrosion of ethical standards among our colleges and universities. We have come to take it almost for granted that many colleges will field professional football and basketball teams under the guise of students, with incalculable damage to the proper goals of higher education.

We hear sensational reports of organized criminals making billions on slot machines and narcotics, and we are struck with the powerlessness of a committee of the United States Senate to do anything about the conditions its investigations disclose.

The practice of at least one United States Senator who deliberately uses his congressional immunity as a cloak for slander has resulted in the addition of a new, and by no means honorable, word to our vocabulary. And there seems to be no effective redress for the countless people who have suffered from his venom.

All of this, combined with the usual run of crimes and delinquency, makes a pretty sorry picture. There would seem to be good excuse for anyone who turns his back on it all in disgust and tries to make the most of his own private world. At the very least, it makes the question before us most pertinent. Are we indeed losing our morals?

Before we lapse into complete pessimism, a few words of caution will be in order. For the picture we have been suggesting bears just a little resemblance to the distortion in which our communist propagandist would certainly indulge.

For one thing, allowance must always be made for that practice which, in a mood of generosity, we might call journalistic exaggeration. As everyone knows, it is the scare headline, the sensational revelation which sells newspapers and attracts a radio audience. The fraudulent tax collector, who lines his own pockets while forgetting to collect Uncle Sam's share, is spread across our front pages. But his hundreds of honest, efficient, and conscientious colleagues seldom find their names in print. The malpractices of some colleges and universities in their athletic policies provide copy for hundreds of sports columnists and commentators. The immeasurable and indispensable contributions of our institutions of higher learning to the very fabric of our free society receive much more modest treatment.

Then, too, we must never forget that we have always with us many would-be saviors, the self-appointed champions of righteousness and decency. There are many with their knightly plumes in place, all prepared to do battle against the forces of evil. Though their valor may match that of a Don Quixote, their targets are also apt to resemble the windmills against which that noble champion fought. This is especially true in days like these, when words are cheap and political advantage hangs in the balance.

A more subtle factor is that in our own concern for the difficulties of the present we are apt to overestimate the virtues of the past. We easily form the judgment that our present shortcomings represent a falling away from the more rigorous standards of the past. But our picture of the past is often that seen through the rose-tinted glasses of nostalgia. Brock Chisholm, the Director-General of the World Health Organization, once observed that "one of the oldest pieces of cuneiform writing ever translated represents a complaint that the younger generation are forsaking the old gods, no longer reverence their elders, and are generally going to the dogs. Some of them," he added, "are still, fortunately, doing it." This feeling that "the good old days" represented a higher moral tone than the degenerate present has characterized every generation; it would be strange indeed if ours were an exception.

And yet, even after full allowance has been made for all these things, there is still much in our present situation to give us alarm. Any candid observer can only regard our predicament as very, very serious.

But this is not so, I think, for the reason that many are suggesting. A great chorus has arisen including the voices of at least a few significant leaders who deserve to be taken seriously, lamenting the purported corrosion of our public and private morality and urging upon us a return to the "old-fashioned virtues." The implication, of course, is that we have slipped, that we have fallen from grace and need to be bucked up.

Now the term "old-fashioned virtues," as it is used by these sincere spokesmen for decency and uprightness, always leaves me feeling a bit uneasy. If, as I suggest is the case, the virtues referred to are such things as simple honesty and telling the truth and living up to your promises, then I should most heartily agree that there can be no substitute for these things. Any weakening of these basic ethical principles must be looked upon as very serious indeed. But I most certainly hope that there is nothing at all old-fashioned about this kind of virtues. They must always receive primary emphasis—now just as much as at any time in the past. And I am fully confident that parents today are every bit as alert to their importance as were preceding generations.

No, our real trouble is not that we have grown morally callous. Far from it! The widespread reaction to our present moral crisis is itself the most convincing evidence that our consciences are more deeply sensitive than ever before. There has been, of course, the kind of moral weakening which always comes in an immediate postwar period. There are the evidences of a letdown which we should all have expected. The surprising thing is not that there should have been such

a letdown, but rather that it has not been far worse than is actually the case and that public reaction has been so prompt and decisive.

Our present difficulties do not stem from a moral decay, which simply has not happened. They arise rather from the rapidly increasing demands which are made upon us all by the very nature of the world we live in. The plain fact is that the morality which did very well for yesterday is no longer adequate today. Living at a time in which our concern must extend to all mankind, when no false pride of nation, creed, or race can be allowed to block the peaceful development of our "one world," when the alternative to undreamed of progress is inconceivable disaster—living at such a time as this, we are still too easily content just to limp along with the moral concepts of an earlier generation. Our morality must always be expanding, seeking ever more inclusive principles.

After all, the moral conscience of America has in times past tolerated slavery, sweatshops, child labor, and fraudulent misrepresentation on drug labels. For each of these abuses in its time a case was made out on moral grounds, only to be swept away by the more inclusive standards of a growing and expanding morality. Now in our own time we must confront the grossest immorality of all, that of war—grossest because it represents the ultimate disregard for human personality.

The present moral crisis—and our situation is critical indeed—demands two things of us all, two things which must rest heavily upon every person who is genuinely concerned for ethical values. The first requirement is that we must take honest stock of ourselves. We must discover how far we as individuals are guilty of abetting the widespread social approval of anything you can get away with. To what extent do we allow ourselves to drift along with the tide, and how far do we assert the basic principles for which we profess to be concerned? How effectively are we helping to create the kind of environment in which these principles will be inculcated by example as well as by precept?

This self-evaluation is our first duty, and it must be undertaken repeatedly. And we must always be thoroughly honest with ourselves, making certain that the principles for which we are concerned are far more inclusive than just the so-called "old-fashioned virtues" of which we have already spoken. They must include, as well, things like respect for individual differences, and social responsibility. These basic elements of our democratic faith are indispensable ingredients of a vital, growing morality.

Beyond this, we must be always concerned that our moral concepts never settle down into a fixed mold, incapable of further expansion. Our morality must rather be open-ended, growing—that it may always be sufficiently inclusive to meet the continually increasing demands of our time. We as a nation cannot claim moral leadership of the world unless we deserve it, and this will require far more imagination, far more genuine and realistic concern for other people—*all* other people—than we have yet evidenced.

Not by a return to the past, not by falling back on ancient standards will we save our world and incidentally ourselves; we must strike out on new paths and improve the heritage we have received. We would do well to take as our motto those stirring words of James Russell Lowell, written in an earlier time of moral crisis when our nation's conscience was struggling with the existence of human slavery:

> New occasions teach new duties;
> Time makes ancient good uncouth;
> They must upward still and onward,
> Who would keep abreast of truth.

A New Liberalism?

J. RAY SHUTE

Time was when the dissatisfied and restless American could pack his belongings and follow Horace Greeley's admonition—"Go West." In the old days the West was a new, open land where a fellow could start a new life from scratch. Not so today, when the West is as busy, as crowded, and perhaps more progressive than any other part of the country. The adventurer, the man without money, the down-and-outer, is not encouraged to migrate westward. Remember California and the Oakies a generation ago? To a large degree the same situation obtains in Latin America and officials now advise Alaska-bound tenderfoot adventurers to stay out of the arctic unless they have sufficient funds to carry themselves through two seasons without income. There are no slow boats to China and the man, therefore, seeking escape can find no place to go and he must learn to stew in his own juice, to fry in his own fat. This situaton is filling the sanatoria of the country, swelling membership in the mystic sects and various cults, popularizing such men as Billy Graham and, in general, furnishing abundant evidence of this age of indecision and frustration. There is no escape from the realities of life. There is no royal road to health, wealth, and happiness. There is no short-cut across history. There are only men and their problems, and they must become bed fellows. Men must learn to live with their problems; they must crave survival and devise methods of meaningful living.

Many wives are determined to bring no offspring into such a troubled and uncertain world, preferring to live out lives of such meaning as can be found without the responsibilities of motherhood. Mothers see no logic in raising sons for the gory maw of war or for fates equally as bad. Many husbands follow similar thinking because excessive income, gift, and inheritance taxes preclude the possibility of providing assistance to sons starting out in an age of giant corporations and giant labor unions. It seems foolish to think of possibilities in independent business; and the risks of government employment in the age of the oath and character assassination, plus political chicanery generally, furnish background material for tragedy. Thus, many married couples face the present; and the implications for the future, notwithstanding the continuing population increase, are to be considered in terms of the fear which is abroad in the land. The old slogans do not seem to attract the people as once they did, for we are learning the art of counter-propaganda and have become conditioned thereto.

Ours is indeed an age of resistance, an era of doubt and fear. It is as though we were being slowly poisoned

with some new virus and that the drug had attacked our thinking first as a prelude to the complete undermining of our mental, moral, and physical health. The perusal of the daily papers, the hearing of the newscasts and the conversations with the "man on the street," offer abundant proof that something is happening to our people. Our thinking is neurotic; our actions even worse. Our legislative bodies resemble psychiatric wards, and the mass media of communication bear identifiable continuity to the comic magazines, which have themselves become propaganda documents to indoctrinate our children.

In this weird setting, America finds herself thrust into world leadership without the necessary preconditioning for this most important role. The mediocrity of our leadership, resulting from the demand of the electorate that leaders be neither too far above nor much better qualified than they, brings our problem into more distorted focus. Party politics have become of more importance than the national good, and ends seem to justify whatever means are required for their realization. We are torn asunder internally and if we have a foreign policy it is being successfully hidden from both the people and the world alike. We fall prey to every machination of the totalitarians and display a reaction to pressing immediacies juvenile in aspect. Witch-hunting, in and out of season, has become the national pastime and diplomacy, as well as statesmanship, is indeed a lost art. Character and integrity have been relegated to the trash bin and the oath substituted in lieu thereof. Loyalty has lost its meaning and assumes an academic and police connotation. Democracy has become a lady of easy virtue, fondled by too many hands, and words mean what the user dictates, rather than following etymological paths of historicity.

Liberalism, which was the framework within which our democracy was born, has become at best an ossified neutrality and at worst a form of license. It fails to punctuate contemporary life with an ethical militancy and it has developed a defeatist attitude which at once becomes stultifying and negative. Institutionalism has won out over the individualistic attitude, and the charge is to maintain a novel *status quo* and increase the earnings on invested funds. The central commitment is a vested institutionalism rather than the promulgation of the "good news." In fact, the missionary zeal once so characteristic of the liberal movement has beeen replaced by a neo-liberalism unique and rigid. While quite different academically from the neo-orthodoxy of Barth and Niebuhr, it is strikingly similar in its rigidity of operation and direction. As a force in the nation it is non-existent, and the constant watering-down of its historic dynamic has left it impotent and sterile. The idea that liberalism could be a moving force has apparently been lost sight of in the effort to stabilize and anchor the movement, which means stagnation. If these suggestions of our present dilemma are valid, then remedial measures are indicated that will require courage, intelligence, and the will to do. Apathy must be supercharged into that dynamic urge to do, which once so vividly characterized liberalism at its best. It is never too late to attempt revitalization and energization.

Let the World Come to Order

HAROLD P. MARLEY

A glance at the sky or into the window of a cyclotron discloses that the stars and the particles within star dust are bound by a common law. This is the law of order. Standing between the orbits of the infinite and the infinitesimal, man, too, is subject to this same requirement. He must keep his mind from becoming disordered, and conform to the law and order of the social system in which he lives and moves and has his being.

This universal characteristic is not unlike the traffic flowing along arterial highways where the timing of the lights is cascaded. Because this state of order is of such importance to the smooth running of the universe, it is well to examine its dynamics. Perhaps there is within it not only a mechanical truth, but also a lesson for man who aspires to place a guiding hand on his own destiny. Man alone is able to observe and evaluate his surroundings. Can he evaluate himself and will he truthfully equate his ways with those of nature? Can he call himself to order?

The outstanding attribute about order is that it has a certain dynamic—a momentum. Without the ceaseless flow in the world out there, the universe would be dead, and it is doubtful if a dead universe could sustain live people. Everything moves in its own orbit or is affixed to something which is going some place. Even fixed objects in the state of inertia are now known to be imbued with a life all their own—electronic energy.

The ongoing nature of order leads to the question of where is it going? Is it merely moving in circles, orbit within orbit, or is something accomplished? Evolution seems to answer this teleological question. So far as the stars are concerned there is still much to conjecture, particularly as to the nature of their possible planets. But this planet has become an open book. Its birth may be a mystery, but its early years are written in the rocks, particularly the adolescent upheaval of the carboniferous age. The evolution of life, following that, took on the elements of maturity which may lead in time to the maturity of man himself. Right now, he seems childish and slow to follow the footsteps of the order about him which he has charted with such painstaking accuracy. He seems to want to be a law unto himself.

One other observation about the orderliness of the universe is in the realm of aesthetics. If beauty can be seen in a still life, how equally inspiring are the sweeping orbits of movement, parabola intersecting parabola. Movement proceeds in curves, gracefully tracing its course in elipses and spirals—no triangles and no sharp corners. A visit to an airport is an experience in the third dimension of art. Here is orderliness in movement which could never be adequately recorded upon a canvas.

Movement, objective, aesthetics—these three attributes of order make for a satisfactory state of affairs. At least it appears so to man. He looks at the universe and he observes the earth phenomena about him. He says, "It is good." He has assumed that it is godlike and has boldly set out himself to be godlike. The contradiction to his assumption is the apparent presence of an opposing phenomenon, namely, disorder. Its manifestations have been so devastating to order that man sometimes wondered if the devil was not stronger than God, or any collection of gods. If man was able to explain away this dualism, he was still forced to fit disorder into the

scheme of God and see in it some divine purpose.

It was the coming of science which completely removed this dilemma, for it has given man such insight into the natural order that it is questionable if there is, or ever was, such a thing as disorder. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are really a violent expression of order. The earth-body which originally had its growing pains, shall also, it seems, suffer the lumbago of old age. The attacks seem less orderly than the eruptions of Old Faithful in Yellowstone Park, but they are all important to earth equilibrium and well-being. Even storms, with their bolts of lightning and jet-like speed, follow the same general pattern within the covering blanket of earth's atmosphere. Man is beginning to accept the destruction and commotion about him and adjust his prayers accordingly. His main objective is to develop techniques for predicting these violent comings of order and get out of the way.

The lesson which goes with this discovery is profound. It is making for a new ontology for explaining the nature of things which is as revolutionary as was the new cosmology. The dominance of order makes as much sense as the rotation of the earth around the sun, but many will not see it. Indeed, some still believe in the old cosmology. The truth will eventually dawn on man as he struggles with the question of order in society and the conduct of the individual that he parallels the natural law. So-called social disorders may be the expression of order, a reordering dictated by well-defined circumstances. Personal aberrations are not the result of disordered minds, but of minds which have fallen behind, or strayed off the path. Mental patients are in all probability reacting in normal ways to situations which no longer obtain. They may behave as a child, fighting battles of childhood, long since past and gone. The psychology of any given conduct makes sense when the dynamics are understood. As put into the mouth of Hamlet, "Though this be madness, yet there is method in it."

Accordingly, the key to the disorders in society and people is not repression, but adjustment of the component parts. Human behavior is far more intricate than natural phenomena, but it is no more complex than the conditions which produce it. The objective in human affairs is not to treat the symptom, alarming as it may be, but to get at the cause. By putting the causal factors into focus, the inevitable discovery takes place that prevention is better than cure. If society is to protect itself from Napoleons and Hitlers, it has only to reorder the conditions which produce them. If dementia is to be curbed, the early influences which have played upon the demented need codification and control. Social science and the science of psychology are gradually accepting this challenge, and their prescription is slowly being accepted by society. The preventive medicine of both is at last finding a place in the family medicine chest and that of the family of nations.

What, then, is the relationship between prevention and order? The practice of prevention is really the practicing of orderliness, of seeing that basic lessons are learned in childhood and in the infancy of group mores. Parents will move heaven and hell (rewards and punishments) to develop a discipline in their children. Unwittingly, by such methods they usually destroy all chance for self-discipline. This can only come through the child experiencing himself the nature of order in the home, in play, and in school. He is much more impressed by losing a meal, a friend, or a promotion than by all the arguments and pressure devices which a parent can scheme up. A child who has had all manner of special exceptions made for him is the man who cajoles his way out of a traffic ticket. In society, too, there is a right and a wrong way to teach orderliness. The crackpot who preaches the end of the world, or the demagogue who seeks to incite a war, need not be given an exaggerated sense of his importance. They will eventually have their oscillations rectified by the momentum of more constructive events.

Actually, a correct view of human order discloses all the movement, purpose, and aesthetic components which are in nature. Formerly, society was too much committed to inertia, and man fearfully anchored his institutions to the past. His objectives were heavenward, not earthwise, and his aesthetics naturally followed suit. He beheld beauty, not in the storm, but in the calm. Today, man's hope is to take his stand on earth—to be every bit an earth person. He shall no longer preach a deductive ethic, let down from heaven, nor shall he listen to such preaching. Digging into the subsoil of his own experience, he builds upon the hard rock of order. He sees it in the workings of his own body, a fine interdependence of parts, each cell a tiny universe of electronic components. It is in the nervous system which can erect and remove emotional roadblocks with lightning agility. In the family, the tribe, the community, the nation, there are mores which seem to decree order—a system of behavior which makes the parts function as parts of a whole.

Individual protest, usually regarded as a dangerous breach of order, can be a saving factor. The best test of a virile social order is its ability to distinguish between what changes or mutations are conducive to its well-being, and those which are not. Purposeful movement in society is not to be confused with regimentation which is, in fact, stagnation. Social disorder is costly only when it seeks to preserve itself and usurp the throne of order. The kingdom of nature has been spared this element of recalcitrance. Disease and insect plagues take their toll, but there is no plotting or conniving. Man, because of his crime of substituting a moral code for situations which have within them a profound pedagogy of their own, has foisted upon himself a police state where enforcement is a matter of discovery and conviction rather than a logical consequence following a given act. This explains why social science in dealing with crime, poverty, and other ailments of society is accused of molly-coddling. By trying to show the relationship of cause and effect, irrespective of law and enforcement, it is howled down. Furthermore, it is up against the difficult task of *cure,* which brings failure as often as success.

Clearly, the most promising development today is in the area of prevention—both for social ailments and individual breakdowns. Some family courts, as in Toledo, maintain counseling staffs which frequently effect adjustments before divorce action is officially filed. Other marital and pre-marital counseling at earlier stages pushes the problem of mating and staying-mated back to its very source. Child problems are today regarded as normal, and subject to intelligent handling by parents and teachers, thus preventing emotional disturbances and, in later life, possible breakdown.

It is certain that future historians will record that somewhere near the middle of the twentieth century, the secret of atomic fission was discovered and placed under control. They will also point out that about the same time, the control of social fission was learned. The only uncertainty is what they will say as to the relationship of these two epoch-making discoveries. Was atomic

fission used constructively for the benefit of the masses, or was it turned against them, thus increasing their fissions? In other words, this generation must decide the momentous question of order as applied to itself. Just when economic and cultural changes are indicated—changes which would greatly influence the determining factors of normal individual growth—a new weapon appears which may delay this change indefinitely. Social fission may be enthroned on the wings of jet A-bombers in the name of law and order. Such a tragedy would be most catastrophic as it would turn nature, the teacher, against man, the pupil, who has just begun to learn the lesson of the constructive nature of order. It would sadly be recorded that after man finally learned the lesson of orderliness, it required another century to adjust a recalcitrant social order to its practice.

Thomas Jefferson—Religious Liberal

PETER H. SAMSOM

Fame among men is a peculiar thing. She lavishes her attentions on those who have earned them, yet hers is always a task only partly done. Like a blinding spotlight from one side of the stage, fame has a way of flooding with light one side of a man's character and leaving the others in deeper shadow than before.

That this should be true in the case of Thomas Jefferson is surprising. Not only does he rank in our annals as one of the immortals in the struggle to establish a land of liberty—not only did he serve two terms in the highest public office of our nation—but his religion, the side of his life that is among the least well-known today, was in his own day the occasion of the most bitter attacks and distorted slanders. The once popular lies about Jefferson's religious beliefs have died and disappeared, yet the truth about them has not been brought forward to take the place of the lies in the American people's appreciation of this man. The truth is, of course, that Jefferson was a thoroughgoing religious liberal, and one of the most effective men in all American history in carrying his dynamic liberal spirit into social and political expression. And the still deeper truth is that Jefferson's conscious Unitarianism was no side issue with him, no mere Sunday faith, but the living source of his greatest achievements for humanity. Had Jefferson not been a religious liberal, he could not have been the Jefferson who is today one of the most stirring and challenging symbols American history offers of democracy's faith in the common man and in human liberty.

America in the 20th century is struggling toward a decision between her pioneer tradition of sturdy independence of mind on the one hand, and the claims of a spineless, fear-ridden conformity on the other. In the heat of the struggle, America does not remember often enough that the man who wrote her most blazing and immortal document of spiritual and social liberty was a radical in religion, an uncompromising believer in the free employment of human reason in religion as well as in political matters!

But there is no doubt whatever that it is as a religious liberal that Jefferson himself wished to be remembered. In the instructions he left for the wording to be placed on his tombstone, there were three achievements which he considered worthy of being recalled by later generations: first, that he was responsible for the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom; second, that he was the author of the Declaration of Independence; and third, that he was founder of the University of Virginia. What an accurate sense Jefferson had for the really important things in his country's future! Let the conventional history books be content with recording that Jefferson was Governor of Virginia, America's first Secretary of State under Washington, Vice-President under John Adams, and twice elected President of the United States. What he himself deemed of deeper significance for the soul of America was that he labored for religious freedom from church and state power; that he worked for human dignity embodied in a charter of political liberty; and that he helped establish public education that man might know the truth that sets him free!

Jefferson's religious reputation presents a curious paradox. He was technically an adherent of the Episcopal Church; and the raging prejudice of his own day blacklisted him as an atheist and an enemy of the Christian religion! Neither of these judgments, of course, could have been fundamentally true. He was born and brought up in the established, tax-supported church of the American colonies, and while he never actually severed his nominal connection with it, from his later youth through the rest of his life his adherence was purely formal and increasingly without meaning, like that of so many "members" of orthodox churches today. He turned away from its doctrines in early manhood, and continued to move toward a faith outlined by his own independent reason. And his atheism so-called? As late as 1830, the Public Library of Philadelphia refused to have Jefferson's books on its shelves. But his alleged atheism was exactly the same "atheism" as that professed by Socrates, Jesus, Spinoza, and Tom Paine. It was atheism to the little minds who could imagine only one kind of God, the domesticated, personal, prayer-answering God of conventional orthodoxy. Jefferson rejected that God, but he believed in a God whose handiwork was Nature and reason in the mind of man. He did not believe, however, that this deistic God had given the world any special revelation in Christianity or any other revealed religion. To the orthodox of any age, any independence of mind is atheism, because it pulls out the props from under their little dogmas. It was Jefferson's rugged religious independence of which the timid of his time were most afraid, and which they attacked with the always-ready label of "atheism."

But the deepest article in Jefferson's creed was not God but man. Man was the concept upon which rests the whole fabric of democracy. It is only because man has within himself the ability to think, judge, and act wisely that democracy is possible. Jefferson was passionately convinced that the common man is able and willing, when well-informed, to act on just opinions. From this conception of human nature flowed Jefferson's insistence on human rights, his advocacy of religious and political freedom, and his broad tolerance of diverse beliefs. God had given man the qualities necessary to enable him to live rationally and justly. From here on in, the business of living is up to man. He must use these powers to learn and act upon the truth, and no God can direct him what to do or do it for him.

Here was the mainspring for the social reforms for which Jefferson worked. Though he belonged to the small Virginia aristocracy of land and slave owners, and

though as the elder son he stood to benefit by the law of inheritance, he had the independence and courage to work for the breaking up of the great hereditary landed estates, and for the wiping out of the ancient law of primogeniture. It was nothing less than a bloodless democratic social revolution he aimed at. When he wrote the Declaration of Independence, it is significant that he took the popular claim to "life, liberty and property" and altered it to read "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." And like later men born to wealth who held human rights higher than property rights, Jefferson was hated in his time as a "traitor to his class." But man, not class, was his ultimate standard.

In order that men should know and grasp and use their inherent natural rights, Jefferson saw that education was the key requirement. Jefferson's proposal that the state should provide free elementary education for all children, followed by high school and state university, was utterly revolutionary in his time. A Governor of Virginia had written, years earlier: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the government. God keep us from both!" But Jefferson lived to see his revolutionary educational hope brought to reality. Eight years before he died, the Virginia legislature passed an act establishing the University of Virginia, for which Jefferson was more responsible than any other man. It symbolized his faith in man, and in public education free of church control.

It was here, on the issue of religious freedom, that Jefferson had to engage in the severest struggle of his life. It is no exaggeration to say that we owe the religious freedom we prize—and take for granted—more to Thomas Jefferson than to any other individual. What American children in our schools do not learn too explicitly about Jefferson is that his consistent aim throughout his life was to free America and keep her free from churchly and priestly power. His labors bore fruit in the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, one of the noblest documents of liberty of all time, proclaiming man's natural rights as including the right to believe differently. There is nothing comparable to this charter of religious freedom in all the previous history of the Christian religion, with the exception of the decree of toleration issued in the little land of Transylvania two centuries earlier by the efforts of a Unitarian king. When the Jefferson Memorial was dedicated in Washington in 1943, with Jefferson's ringing words inscribed around the wall: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man," it was ironical that a Roman Catholic prelate and an Episcopal bishop pronounced the invocation and benediction—men who certainly would have denounced Jefferson as an infidel, unchristian atheist had they lived in his day!

Jefferson's personal religion was made so clear by the nature of these liberties for which he labored, that his religion really needs no separate description in and of itself. Yet it was not only through these illustrious achievements that he expressed his faith. When we look at some of his lesser-known activities and statements about religion, it becomes plain beyond a doubt that this man's religion was forthrightly liberal in spirit. We have to dig for these statements, however, for Jefferson was a great believer in the privacy of a man's religious views: "I inquire after no man's religious opinions, and I trouble none with mine."

Jefferson's Unitarian outlook, already plain from his devotion to man and freedom, reason and tolerance, is especially clear in his view of Jesus. Remember, he held these views a century and a half ago, before they became as popular as they are now. Have you ever heard of the *Jefferson Bible?* Through many of the busiest years of his life Jefferson worked patiently on this, one of his favorite projects. It was his effort to liberate the human figure of Jesus from the chains of Christian superstition, so that the world might see him as he really was, in Jefferson's eyes: an ethical teacher and a social reformer.

With remarkable insight, long before Biblical scholarship made these facts easily available, Jefferson wrote about Jesus:

> The disadvantages under which his doctrines appear are remarkable. Like Socrates and Epictetus, Jesus wrote nothing himself. . . . All the learned of his country, entrenched in its power and riches, were opposed to him, lest his labors should undermine their advantages, and the committing to writing of his life and doctrines fell upon unlettered and ignorant men, who wrote from memory, and not till long after these transactions had passed. . . . The doctrines which he really delivered have come to us mutilated, misstated and often unintelligible. They have been still more disfigured by the corruptions of schismatizing followers, who have found an interest in perverting the simple doctrines he taught. . . . Notwithstanding these disadvantages, a system of morals is presented to us which, if filled up in the style and spirit of the rich fragments he left us, would be the most perfect and sublime that has ever been taught by man.

The book popularly known as the *Jefferson Bible* was Jefferson's effort to compile what Jesus actually taught, unencumbered by the supernatural dogmas of the church about him. The book reveals that Jefferson had completely rejected all the dogmas of orthodox Christianity, and that he had no use for the miracles, the Virgin Birth, the Atonement, or the Resurrection. "The day will come," he wrote, "when the account of the birth of Jesus as accepted in the Trinitarian churches will be classed with the fable of Minerva springing from the brain of Jupiter." "They have compounded from heathen mysteries a system beyond the comprehension of man, of which the great reformer, were he to return to earth, would recognize not one feature." Jefferson was interested in the religion of Jesus himself rather than in the church's later myths about Jesus. It was this that helped earn him the label of "atheist." But from our point of view, it was this essentially liberal religious concern that places Jefferson directly in the Unitarian tradition which for four hundred years has sought to free religion and life from supernatural myth and churchly dogma.

But it should be clearly understood that Jefferson's harmony with the Unitarian tradition was not merely a later interpretation of his position by us, nor does it exist merely in our minds. Jefferson's Unitarianism was conscious and clear in his own mind, and he left us in no doubt as to his awareness that he was a Unitarian. Though he never actually joined a Unitarian church, he considered himself of that fellowship, and spoke of his conviction openly. The Unitarian leader who exercised the most traceable influence on Jefferson's thinking was Joseph Priestley, the British Unitarian minister who is more renowned for his discovery of oxygen than for his religious work. Religious orthodoxy had made life in England impossible for Priestley, and when a church-inspired mob burned his library and wrecked his laboratory, he came to America as a religious refugee, and organized the first Unitarian church on American soil.

"I have read Priestley's books over and over again," wrote Jefferson. "I rest on them as the basis of my own faith." To Priestley himself, Jefferson wrote: "It is with

heartfelt satisfaction that in the first moments of my public action [as President of the United States] I can hail you with welcome to our land, tender you its homage and respect, and cover you under these laws which were made for the wise and good such as you." He wrote to Benjamin Franklin: "When I lived in Philadelphia there was a respectable congregation of Unitarians, with a meeting house and regular services which I attended, and in which Dr. Priestley officiated."

Jefferson had long felt his kinship with the Unitarians, for he had written a friend years earlier: "The population of my neighborhood is too slender, and too much divided into other sects, to maintain any one preacher well. I must therefore be contented to be a Unitarian all by myself, although I know there are many around me who would gladly become so, if once they could hear the questions fairly stated." And here are the moving words with which Jefferson expressed his liberal religious convictions, and established for the record his faith in the future of liberal religion as the coming faith of America:

> Had the doctrines of Jesus been preached always as pure as they came from his lips, the whole civilized world would by now have been Christian. I rejoice that in this blessed country of free inquiry and belief, which has surrendered its conscience neither to kings nor priests, the genuine doctrine of only one God is reviving, and I trust there is not a young man now living in the United States who will not die a Unitarian.

Such was the personal religion of America's third president, and her foremost champion of religious freedom.

It is commonplace today to proclaim in solemn tones that in this age of confusion and conflict, we need above all the wisdom and vision of the Founding Fathers, and we often use that patriotic impulse as an excuse for setting the clock back and retreating from the perennial obligation to move ahead to ever new and broader conceptions of democratic society. It has become a habit with us to take it for granted that when we speak of the Founding Fathers, we are turning to the past rather than toward the future, and that their word to us is "Conserve!" rather than "Progress!"

Nothing could be more contrary to the actual truth, and Jefferson is the supreme symbol of the fact that at least some of the Founding Fathers represented a spirit of adventure and independence of mind utterly beyond the capacity of much of our present "patriotism" to understand. Jefferson was feared and hated in his day as a radical, far ahead of his times, and in all honesty we must admit that, in his basic vision of society and religion, he is still ahead of the times today, though he is widely revered as a great name in the American past to whom we must "go back!"

It is the perpetual irony of American life that the radical democratic social revolutionaries whose spirit launched the American nation receive the pious homage of those who are sworn to conserve the patterns of private power and privilege today. It is a tribute to Jefferson's lasting challenge to recognize that, were he alive and vocal today in America, he would without any doubt be scored by Cardinal Spellman as an atheist and an enemy of Christianity, and would be investigated by Senator McCarthy as a dangerous subversive! Which is merely another way of saying that Jefferson was an American in the original sense of that much-abused word that he was a liberal, an uncompromising believer in human dignity, human reason, human freedom of the mind and belief. This is the Americanism that can never be captured or imprisoned in our frantic professions of loyalty. This is the Americanism that moves ever on before us, to remind us why there is an America in the first place!

The Study Table

Democracy and Religious Freedom

AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. *By D. E. Lindstrom. Champaign, Illinois: Gerrard Press. 107 pp. $2.00.*

Professor Lindstrom, in his 1950 Rauschenbusch lectures, deals primarily with the background and current trends of rural religion in the United States. He believes the farmer to be a deeply religious person but doubts that the urbanized village churches are meeting his needs. He sees the church as having been displaced to a large extent by the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the Cooperatives. While deploring the inadequacies of the churches, Lindstrom finds an increasing devotion to democracy and religious freedom.

RANDALL S. HILTON.

A Well-Written Polemic

THE RIGHT TO HERESY. *By Stefan Zweig. Boston: The Beacon Press. 238 pp. $3.00.*

This is the story of one Castellio who opposed the dictatorship of Calvin on the grounds of what we would today call basic human liberty. As a story it is well and effectively told. One could raise questions about the propriety of judging Calvin by standards of liberty and freedom which, for most people of his age, were inconceivable. Yet the very nature of the times makes the visions, insights, and concerns of Castellio even more remarkable. The book would have been far stronger had it been less anti-Calvin and more pro-Castellio. It would have been helpful, too, if the author had at least explored any possible connections between Castellio and such men as Wycliffe and Marsiglio of Padua. The book is a well-written polemic, but in no sense a well-balanced appraisal.

SYLVANUS M. DUVALL.

Humanistic Theism

HUMANIST ETHICS. *By Gardner Williams. New York: Philosophical Library. 223 pp. $3.75.*

This is an intriguing and tantalizing book. By a process of definition and Aristotelian dialectics, Dr. Williams establishes a relativistic ethics which is transformed into a categorical imperative. The apparent ease with which he resolves the problem of free will and determinism is fascinating. His facility in giving old terms new meanings is both stimulating and irritating. The new trinity, "a Supreme Being, God, and the Church," all based on a thoroughgoing naturalism, provides for a "Humanistic Theism" which may be helpful to those who no longer can accept the old theism but have reservations concerning the new Humanism. You can only defeat Dr. Williams' logic by challenging his definitions. It is an intriguing, tantalizing book. You should read it.

RANDALL S. HILTON.

Western Unitarian Conference

700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago 15, Illinois
RANDALL S. HILTON, Executive Secretary

100TH FELLOWSHIP

The new Abraham Lincoln Unitarian Fellowship at Springfield, Illinois, is the one hundredth to be organized. A special program of recognition and dedication is being planned for Sunday, March 29. Arrangements are being made by a joint committee consisting of Mr. William Newberry, Alton, Illinois; Rev. Randall S. Hilton, Secretary of the Western Unitarian Conference; Rev. Kenneth Walker, Bloomington, Illinois; Rev. Arnold Westwood, Urbana, Illinois; Prof. Paul Simon, Urbana, Illinois; Mrs. Christian Andreason, President of the Abraham Lincoln Fellowship; Mrs. Gerry Allard, Vice-President; Mr. Herbert Hines, Treasurer; and Mr. Robert Stierer of Chicago, who initiated the organization while living in Springfield. Those participating in the program will be Dr. Frederick May Eliot, President of the American Unitarian Association, and Mr. Munroe Husbands, Associate Director of the Department of Unitarian Extension and Church Maintenance of the American Unitarian Association. The program will begin at four o'clock Sunday afternoon with a worship service and will be followed by a banquet. A cordial invitation is extended to all. Further information can be obtained from Mrs. Christian Andreason, Route 3, Springfield, Illinois.

OTHER FELLOWSHIPS

Four other fellowships have been organized recently in the Western Unitarian Conference. They are at Fargo, North Dakota; Fergus Falls, Minnesota; Green Bay and Kenosha, Wisconsin. These (with the Abraham Lincoln Fellowship) bring the number of fellowships in the Western Conference to 25. The Conference is proud of its fellowships and is pleased that the first and the one hundredth, as well as the other 23, are within its borders.

RESOLUTIONS—A.U.A.

A communication from Mr. C. David Connolly, Rockford, chairman of the Business Committee of the American Unitarian Association, requests that our churches and fellowships give careful consideration to the resolutions which will come before the annual meeting of the Association. It is hoped that discussions will be held and the consensus registered with the committee. Only eleven churches have so far responded to the request of the Business Committee. They are: Chicago-Beverly, Detroit, Evanston, Indianapolis-North Church, Lincoln, Louisville-First, Omaha, Rockford, Shelbyville, St. Louis, and St. Paul.

RESOLUTIONS—W.U.C.

Under the revised by-laws of the Western Unitarian Conference all resolutions must be processed by the Committee on Resolutions. The by-laws state: "The committee shall review all resolutions proposed by members for action at an annual meeting which are mailed to the secretary of the corporation not less than thirty days prior thereto." Members are those "religious societies and organizations" which have contributed to the support of the Conference either directly or through the United Appeal. The secretary of the corporation is Randall S. Hilton, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago 15, Illinois. The dates of the annual meeting are May 1, 2, and 3, 1953. Thus all resolutions must be in by April 2, 1953.

IN MEMORIAM

Frank Scott Corey Wicks, 1867-1952, Minister of All Souls Unitarian Church, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1905-1938, died in Indianapolis on December 21, 1952. Dr. Wicks will long be remembered for his genial disposition and his penetrating wit. A lover of baseball, he was an early exponent of Sunday games. His popular pamphlet, *Good Men in Hell,* has been a major contribution to Unitarian extension. Many are those whose lives are richer for having met him along the way.

AWARD TO HOMER JACK

Dr. Homer Jack, minister of the Unitarian Church of Evanston, Illinois, was given the first Thomas H. Wright memorial citation "for distinguished service and leadership in bettering intergroup relations in Chicago" by Chicago's Mayor Martin H. Kennelly. Speaking in behalf of the Commission on Human Relations, Augustine J. Bowe, its chairman, said: "In aiming almost impatiently at perfection, it was for others to compromise . . . he has been an important part of the conscience of Chicago." The award is named after the late Thomas H. Wright, director of the Commission on Human Relations of the City of Chicago. For five years Dr. Jack was executive secretary of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination and at present is president of the Evanston Interracial Council. He was previously given awards by the Chicago Urban League and the Negro newspaper, *The Chicago Defender.*

JOHN FORDON

The Unitarian Society of Ft. Wayne will ordain and install John Fordon as minister, Friday, February 13, 1953. Participating in the service will be Dr. Preston Bradley, Rev. Randall S. Hilton, of Chicago, and Rev. Theodore Abel of Sacramento, California.

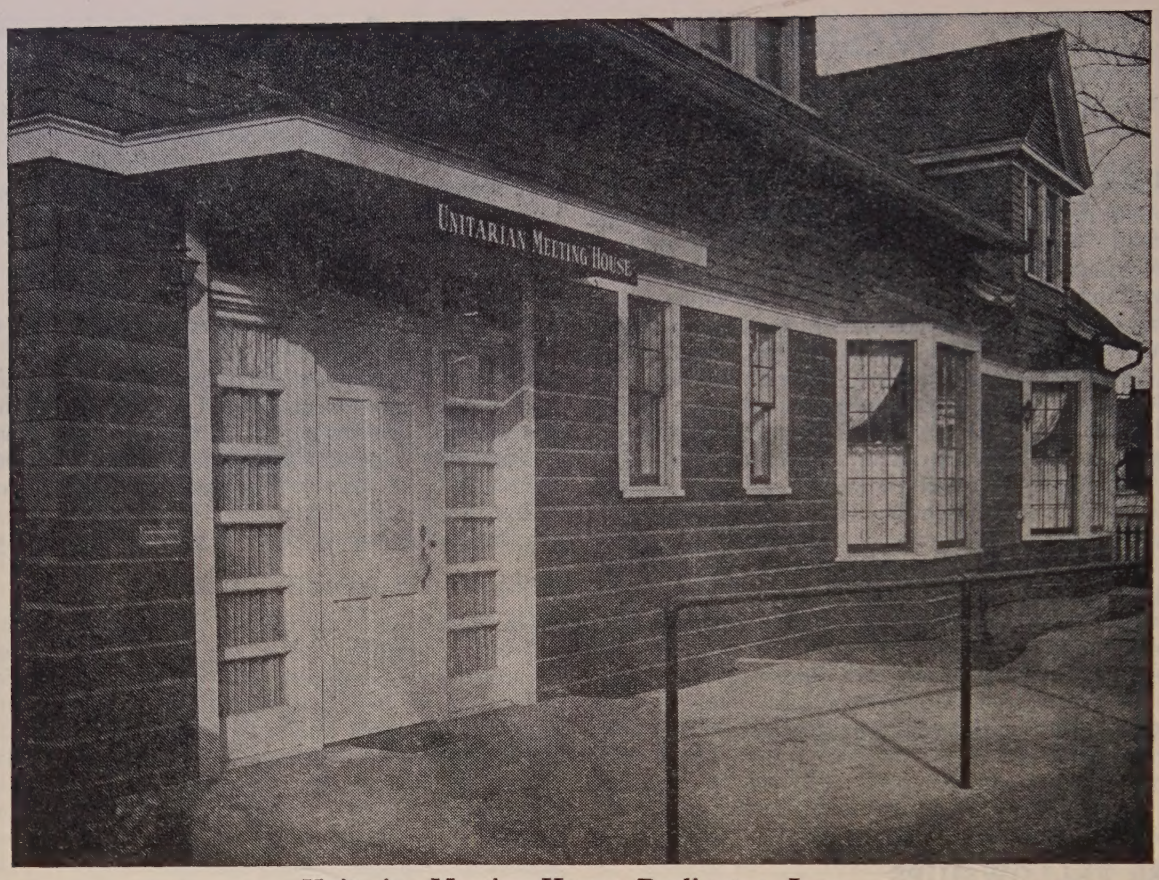
THOMAS MALONEY

Rev. Thomas Maloney will be installed as minister of the Unitarian church in Davenport on February 26th. Dr. Edwin H. Wilson will give the sermon.

AVERAGE ? ? ?

Where does your church stand on giving and on ministerial salaries? There was not a 100 per cent return on the questionnaires sent out in the fall, and of those returned not all gave complete information. The pledge figures given below are based on returns from 34 churches. The salary figures on returns from 46 churches include cash, plus parsonage and other benefits.

Average pledge	$72.53
17 churches under-average	54.38
17 churches over-average	90.68
Average Salary	$5,543
26 churches under-average	4,044
20 churches over-average	7,494



Unitarian Meeting House, Burlington, Iowa

Dedication services for the new Unitarian Meeting House were held Sunday, December 14, 1952. Dr. Curtis W. Reese, Dean of Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, and President of the Western Unitarian Conference, gave the sermon. He spoke on the subject "The Function of a Modern Church." Rev. Randall S. Hilton read the lesson and gave the meditation. The service was conducted by Mr. Frank H. Schramm, President of the Unitarian Fellowship of Burlington. Some one hundred people were present.

Saturday evening, December 13th, was the occasion for a gala dinner for the members of the Fellowship at the Burlington Country Club. Mr. Sterling Lord, Treasurer of the Fellowship, was toastmaster. Greetings were given by Mr. Schramm and Dr. Reese. Talks were given by Mr. Hilton and Mr. Spencer Day, President of the Iowa Unitarian Association.

The new Meeting House culminated two years of planning and work by the Burlington Fellowship and the Iowa Unitarian Association. The Fellowship purchased a lot and carriage house in the heart of the city. The lower floor was then completely remodeled into a beautiful meeting and assembly hall. A streamlined kitchen and a room for a high fidelity record player and amplifier were provided. There is ample space on the second floor for building classrooms for a church school.

This magnificent achievement of the Burlington Fellowship was made possible by a grant from the I.U.A. of $10,000 on condition that the Fellowship raise an equal amount. The condition was more than met and the dreams of the group came true. Spencer Day, the Iowa Association president, commented that this was one of the great achievements of Unitarianism in Iowa, that there should again be a Unitarian meeting house in Burlington, the city in which the first Unitarian church in Iowa was established in 1850. The Burlington Fellowship was founded 100 years later. Mr. Day prophesied a much longer life for this movement.

Congratulations are in order for the Burlington Fellowship and the Iowa Unitarian Association on their cooperation and vision.

IOWA ASSOCIATION PROGRESS

The assistance given to the Burlington Fellowship is only one of the many activities of the Iowa Unitarian Association. The growing vitality of its program through the past several years has resulted in many benefits for the Association and its members. It has financed trips through the Association by Mr. Munroe Husbands, A.U.A. Director of Fellowships; Miss Frances Wood, Director of Church Schools and Leadership Training for the A.U.A.; and Mr. Edward Darling, Director of Public Relations for the A.U.A.

The Iowa Association also sponsors a youth program and provides scholarships for young people to attend the Geneva Assembly. It makes a generous contribution to the Western Unitarian Conference and assumes half of the expenses for its member of the Central Planning Committee. Besides its annual meeting in the fall, it holds a joint meeting of the board and ministers in the winter. This group will meet in Des Moines February 16 and 17. The mid-winter meeting provides an important stimulous for the Association's on-going program.